

# In fact

For The Millions Who Want a Free Press

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George Seldes, Editor

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## Treachery

THE published report of Hitler's harangue to the Reichstag declaring war on the U S concludes with this passage:

"... a plan prepared by President Roosevelt has been revealed in the United States, according to which his intention was to attack Germany by 1943 with all the resources at the disposal of the United States. Thus our patience has come to the breaking point."

Who revealed this plan—this vital military secret—which Hitler was able to use in needling the war-weary German people into war on the United States? The Chicago Tribune and the NY Daily News.

On Dec 4 the Chicago Tribune sprang its story, timed to the day when Marshall Field's Chicago Sun made its first appearance. "BARE U S WAR PARTY," ran the Tribune headline, over a copyrighted story from Washington by Chesly Manly. The story said:

"Confidential report prepared by the joint Army and Navy High Command by direction of President Roosevelt calls for American expeditionary forces aggregating 5,000,000 men for a final land offensive against Germany. It contemplates total armed forces of 10,045,658 men."

## Stolen Document

OBVIOUSLY the document had been stolen from the government—in wartime a capital offense, in pre-war time of all-out preparation for defense, little short of treason. Washington investigated, and Secretary of War Stimson issued this blistering rebuke to the Tribune and the News:

"What would you think of an American General Staff which in the present condition of the world did not investigate and study every conceivable type of emergency which may confront this country and every possible method of meeting the emergency?"

"What do you think of the patriotism of a man or a newspaper that would take those confidential studies and make them public to the enemies of this country?"

"While their publication doubtless will be of gratification to our potential enemies as a possible source of impairment and embarrassment to our national defense, the chief evil of their publication is the revelation that there should be among us any group of persons so lacking in appreciation of the danger that confronts the country and so wanting in loyalty and patriotism

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PRESIDENT Roosevelt and other American leaders realize at last that Mussolini meant what he said years ago (Palazzo Venezia, Oct 27 1930) that the whole world is divided between two camps, Fascism and Democracy, that it is "either We or They."

At the same time it is also being realized in Washington that one reason for the failure of the American defense program in the first full year of its existence (IN FACT Sept 22) is the presence of native Fascisti or pro-Fascists in high gov't posts. The great aluminum scandal, the aviation scandal, the steel scandal are in part due to the fact certain defense chieftains looked after their corporations rather than the safety of the U S. When labor leaders accused Big Business of engaging in a defense strike for a year they backed the statement up with facts and figures, whereas newspapers, National Ass'n of Manufacturers and Westbrook Pegler's charges against labor were either hysterical, or propaganda, or untruth.

Friends of the Fascist dictators still remain in the State Dep't, in the defense program, in the American press, in Big Business, in our colleges. "You can't fight an anti-Fascist war with men who are fundamentally pro-Fascist," is the way one Washington correspondent sums up the situation. But there are no signs of a showdown.

## Ambassador Urged Sell-Out to Japan

Among America's leading pro-Fascist diplomats is William C Bullitt, now special envoy to the Near East. In Ambassador Dodd's great book, "Ambassador Dodd's Diary," the amazing story is told of how Bullitt intrigued in Berlin and Paris to have the French delay and finally break the Franco-Russian treaty. In this he was successful. And this more than any other single action was responsible for the complete defeat of France. Bullitt had planned a Franco-German alliance to smash Russia, the nation to which he was accredited as ambassador. In telling of this intrigue Ambassador Dodd adds: "Later, or about the same time, when the new Italian ambassador came here directly from Moscow, we were told that Bullitt became attracted to Fascism before leaving Moscow."

Later, Bullitt encouraged American bankers' loans to Italy and Germany to build their war machine. Dodd found this "unbelievable"; he noted in the diary that "Bullitt is lending encouragement to these schemes."

Later, Dodd notes the plan, favored by Sir Neville Henderson, Hitler and Bullitt, for a new division of the world among "dominating" nations, Britain, Germany, the U S and Japan. Dodd tells of this great plot, adds that Japan was to dominate the Far East and that Bullitt favored such Japanese domination, including Japan's seizure of the Siberian peninsula including Vladivostok. Dodd protested this would cut Russia off from the Pacific. Dodd then quotes Bullitt saying "That makes no difference." Dodd adds: "I was amazed at this kind of talk from a responsible diplomat... The President must know the man's mentality, but if so, how could he have appointed him ambassador to Soviet Russia?"

## Former Undersec'y of State Castle Caught Appeasing

On Dec 7 Japan without warning attacked Hawaii and murdered many Americans. On the same morning William R Castle, born in Hawaii, later under-secretary of State and now chief of the American Cliveden Set, came out in favor of appeasing Japan.

Rarely has a notable person been caught so openly. It happened that Castle's letter favoring Japan was published in NYHerald Tribune at the very moment the same treacherous clique which rules Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Finland and Japan, struck its first blow against America.

Castle writes: "... one repeatedly hears the question, 'Why should we go to war with Japan?' To that question I have never received a reasonable answer, except the answer always made by those who feel we should interfere anywhere



in the world on the side of a nation unjustly attacked." Fascist-appeaser Castle then continues to predict a dire future for the U S if it fights Japan. He also denounces America for protesting the Japanese occupation of Indo-China "with the consent of the gov't of Vichy."

This same Mr Castle has been associated with both Lindbergh and Hoover; he was a member of the National Committee of America First, chairman of Washington chapter, said to be the brains of the movement, and is anti-Semite and pro-Fascist.

On Dec 28 1940 Castle wrote to Merwin K Hart, head of a Fascist organization known as New York State Economic Council and propagandist for Gen Franco, discussing America First affairs. He asked about the NY Enquirer and its publisher Wm Griffin, suggesting that soft-pedaling rather than exaggeration of the Griffin-Enquirer anti-British line would go better. He also said he liked and respected the notorious anti-Semite Verne Marshall, adding, "He is not able to work with other people but he is so violent on the subject of the Jews and the New Deal that he is likely badly to overstep the mark. God knows, I have no particular affection for such people, but I should much prefer to express it in private to you than in a public advertisement." Mr Castle was always a diplomat. But he got caught when this letter was printed and he got caught again Dec 7 when his pro-Japan letter coincided with Japan's murderous attack on America. Castle answers every requirement for a 100% native Fascist.

### Bloodstained Diplomacy

The American State Dep't diplomats who have intrigued to help Franco and to keep Franco's victims in France, where thousands have died from disease and starvation, are still in office, although the deaths of thousands of the bravest men who ever fought Hitler and Mussolini are on their hands.

Most notorious is Breckenridge Long, Ass't Sec'y of State.

This Fascist also proposed a \$10,000,000 loan to Franco.

As ambassador to Italy he showed himself a true Blackshirt. In 1935 he approved the undeclared war of Mussolini against the almost unarmed Ethiopians—the first time since World War I that poison gas was used. Long called it a "fruitful harvest of Mussolini's enterprise" and declared that Mussolini's victory would remove the threat of a general European conflagration.

In 1936 Long denounced the French Popular Front, the last attempt in Europe at collective security and peace. He joined with Bullitt in attacking the Franco-Soviet pact. From 1936 on, Bullitt, Joe Kennedy, ambassador to Britain, and Long passed on to Sec'y of State Hull (an honest man) and President Roosevelt, all the Cliveden Set and Hitler falsehoods about the Loyalist Republican gov't of Spain; these three American Fascists supported not only Franco but Hitler and Mussolini. They succeeded in getting Roosevelt to pass the neutrality law and embargo arms to the Spanish Republic, with the result that Hitler and Mussolini (aided by Mohammedan troops on whose uniforms Franco pinned the Sacred Heart of Jesus) destroyed a democracy and tried out their dive-bombing and tank technique for later use against France.

From 1939 to the present day Breckenridge Long, aided by Avra Warren, chief of the State Dep't visa division, has succeeded in preventing the volunteers of the International Brigade, ordinary Spanish republicans, German and Austrian and Russian and Czech patriots, Jewish and Catholic refugees from Germany, noted writers and artists, and other victims of the Fascist Axis from coming to America. No real anti-Fascist ever got a visa if Long and Warren could help it.

(More on State Dep't Fascists, pro-Japanese Americans, in future issues.)

### Big Business Lobby Controls Press, Congress, Colleges

THE National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) which just held its annual "Congress of Industry" in New York, is said to represent \$60,000,000,000. It is the most powerful organization in America. Its convention was frontpaged by all big city papers, which applauded everything said and done. This was no surprise inasmuch as the NAM includes the men who spend \$1,500,000,000 every year on advertising—which is the (corrupting) lifeblood of the commercial press.

As stated in last week's IN FACT, the NAM has been exposed by three Congressional investigations which provided the documentary evidence (naturally suppressed or buried in the press) that the NAM corrupts Congressmen, corrupts the press, corrupts public thinking through hiring columnists and college professors, and generally works for the benefit of a few against the welfare of the many. In other words, it is "native-Fascist."

The main objective of the NAM at the time of its formation, at the beginning of the century, was to kill the union labor movement. That is still one of its objectives. Today the NAM, with the aid of the NYTimes, NYHerald Tribune, Scripps-Howard 19 newspapers in 18 cities, Hearst's 18 newspapers in 16 cities, attempts to repeal or hamstring the Wagner Act. It favors legislation smashing unions, repealing all gains under the New Deal.

Everyone no doubt has read the columns of praise for the Smith anti-labor bill, recently passed in the house. Few if any commercial papers, however, would

to their government, that they would be willing to publish such papers."

Stimson's denunciation was made on Friday. On Sunday Japan attacked the U S. On the following Thursday—exactly a week after the Chicago Tribune and the NYDaily News betrayed their country—Hitler was using their treachery to whip up war spirit in Germany against the United States.

The crime is all the greater because the Tribune and News are owned by Colonel McCormick and Captain Patterson. Both served in World War I. Both know that every big nation at all times makes plans for offense and defense and keeps them on file. The Tribune-News story therefore was not news, but it was close to treason.

From a larger point of view there is nothing surprising in such action. The millionaire newspapers are generally Fascist. Field, Pulitzer, and a few others are exceptions; the majority have supported Mussolini and the native American brand of Fascism such as the old Liberty League and the present National Association of Manufacturers. There's money in Fascism, no money on the anti-Fascist side as a rule.

### Japanese Agents

IN last week's IN FACT we quoted anti-Fascist sources stating that Generoso Pope's Italian-American newspapers and other Italian-American publications which support Mussolini, also the German Bund, were engaged in disseminating pro-Japanese propaganda in America in return for which Japanese ships carried pro-Fascist and anti-Semitic literature to America in great quantities. Outstanding pro-Japanese was named as Ralph Townsend of San Francisco.

Institute for Propaganda Analysis explains that Townsend is not registered as a Japanese agent: "Mr Townsend publishes his writings himself; and he insists that he is not getting any money from Japan for them." This is true. Nevertheless Townsend is known throughout California as most notorious China-hater.

Here follow some of the known and paid American Japanese agents:

Frederick V Williams, 605 Market St, San Francisco. Employed by Japanese Committee on Trade and Information, 549 Market St, at \$300 a month.

Williams has been engaged in the most vicious type of propaganda against China. The personal abuse and calumny directed against General and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek cannot be repeated here.

A former newspaperman, he has for the past ten years been engaged in publicity, handling very important work, such as publicity director of the Eucharistic Congress at Budapest in 1938, publicity director for the Western Province of the Dominican Fathers, etc. He was publicity man for the San Francisco Bar Association during 1933 and for the Democratic State Central Committee in the presidential campaigns of 1928 and 1932. Since his resignation as a Japanese agent, his activities have been curtailed somewhat. Previously he posed as a free agent and unbiased observer.

Frederick J Moore, 1868 Columbia Rd, Washington, D C. Adviser on American and international affairs to the Japanese Government. Compensation: \$500 per month from the Japanese Gov't, paid by check from the Japanese Embassy. An additional \$10,000 annually from the South Manchuria Railway, paid semi-annually by check in March and Sep-



tember. Moore makes a dignified speech presenting Japan's side of the war and is convincing to some of his audience; most of his work is behind the scenes. Moore doesn't like IN FACT.

Wendell P Colton, Jr, 122 East 42, NYC. Registered as publicity director for the Japanese Tourist Bureau, at compensation of \$2,500 per month, in addition to commissions.

Ostensibly engaged as publicity and advertising adviser on travel matters, Colton directs an organization of workers speaking and writing for Japan.

Helmut L Ripberger, 125 W 16 St, NYC. Employed by Japan Institute at salary of \$300 a month, plus expenses. Describes himself as "consultant."

Vincent Paul Walsh, 44 Wall St, Room 1105, NYC. Employed by Japanese Consulate-General as "Financial adviser in promotion of trade financial contracts" at a retainer of \$300 a month.

Bowman, Deute, Cummings, Inc, 215 Market St, San Francisco. Engaged by the Japan Tourist Bureau, and Board of Tourist Industry of the NYK. Compensation: \$9,500 from the Japan Tourist Bureau, \$17,795 from Board of Tourist Industry. Services: Public Relations. General Japanese propaganda on cultural, economic, trade, travel, financial and other such matters.

Brewer-Weeks Company, 564 Market St, San Francisco. Engaged by Japanese Committee on Trade and Information to engage in propaganda among business circles on the Pacific Coast. Compensation unstated.

Robert A Wright, 48-14 93rd St, Elmhurst, Queens, NY. Employed by Japanese Consulate-General, at salary of \$200 a month, as public relations counsel, issuing press releases, advising the Consulate-General and Vice-Consuls in any matter pertaining to propaganda in America.

Don Bate, 101 E. 75, NYC. Formerly employed by the China Press and United Press in Shanghai. For more than a year he posed as a "war correspondent, expert on Far Eastern affairs, who through his friendship with Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek knows the true story of the Sino-Japanese conflict from the inside."

Registered with the State Dep't as receiving \$25 per lecture from the Japanese Chamber of Commerce plus expenses, and acting for various Japanese organizations in the United States.

Rev Alexander Cairns, 209 Ampero Parkway, Bloomfield, NJ. Posed for a long time as a neutral observer, returned missionary, pleading the case for the Japanese people. Registered as an agent for Japan, receiving \$25 per lecture. Very active prior to registration.

Robert S. Janney, 700 Park Avenue, Baltimore. Engaged as field representative of the Japan Institute, at salary of \$100 per month, plus expenses.

Charles J Zeller, 1201 E 55th St, Chi-

dare print labor's side of the matter, as given in the following statement from Labor's Non-Partisan League:

"That it was the NAM that called the tune while Congress danced is demonstrated in every line of the legislation which precisely parallels the anti-labor program of this Big Business lobby. It is noteworthy that Smith even went so far as to eliminate the plant-seizure section to which business objected.

"Another revealing fact is that soon after NAM testimony against outright compulsory arbitration, Smith omitted this from his bill. However, the total effect of the sweeping measure is to impose chains on labor that are fully as bad as this final step in the Hitler labor front idea. The bill operates only against labor.

"And after its enactment, poll-taxer Smith hastened to New York where the NAM was in annual session to receive an ovation from the apostles of reaction (Fascism). The NAM, which never in its history has stood for a single progressive idea, had its hour of triumph.

"It was, however, an hour of grave crisis for labor and for all those who love American democracy. In one short day, it had seen a stampeding House shatter a carefully wrought structure that means freedom for those who toil.

"The NAM's victory was America's defeat.

"The greatest falsehood of all (in press and Congress) was the oft-uttered claim that striking down free American labor would in some manner assist the defense program. With reckless abandon, House reactionaries tossed around strike figures, although these same gentry have wholly ignored the really serious losses to defense production.

"Time and again labor has offered constructive proposals to speed defense, the Murray Industry Councils Plan, the Steel plan, the Auto plan, the Aluminum plan, housing proposals, etc, all of which are resting on OPM shelves. Labor has also exposed faulty government planning and monopoly bottlenecks that interfere with defense."

## Congressmen Corrupted, Press Corrupted

The foregoing statement should result in a Congressional investigation of the NAM's lobby in Congress, which even commercial Washington journalists reported at work. The Mulhall investigation produced the evidence in 1913.

The LaFollette investigation showed that more recently the NAM changed the emphasis of its activities to corrupting the press. That proved much easier. Inasmuch as NAM members are leading advertisers, the NAM leaders decided upon a policy of demanding free space from newspapers, magazines, billboards, the movies and the radio. They got it. Here are some NAM propaganda activities as exposed by the LaFollette Investigation:

1. *Daily newspapers.* Realizing that public thought is shaped to a large degree by the newspapers, NAM Public Information program regularly covered the newspaper field to industry's advantage.

a. *Bulletin to newspaper editors.* Publishers and editorial writers furnished with propaganda entitled "Voice of American Industry."

b. *Daily comic feature.* "Uncle Abner Says" is big business, anti-labor propaganda placed in papers by NAM but the public is not told the fact.

c. *News stories.* NAM sent spot news releases to local papers, Associated Press, United Press, International News Service, news syndicates.

2. *Weekly newspapers.* More than 5,000 weeklies propagandized regularly.

3. *Advertising.*

a. Full page ads in newspapers favoring industry.

b. Outdoor ads. "The American Way," etc.

4. *Radio.* Good will for industry was propagandized in many ways:

a. NAM program, "The American Family Robinson."

b. Foreign language transcriptions.

c. Propaganda furnished news commentators.

5. *Motion Pictures.* One of the many NAM propaganda projects was called "Men and Machines" with narration by Lowell Thomas.

6. *Secretly bought columnists.* Example: George E Sokolsky, put on \$1,000 a month payroll while writing column syndicated by NYHerald Tribune.

7. *Bought college professors.* "You and your nation's affairs," or "Six Star Service." The La Follette Report says: "The 6 contributors to this service were: Gus W Dyer, prof of economics, Vanderbilt U; Ernest Minor Patterson, president, American Academy of Political and Social Science; Eliot Jones, prof of Transportation, Stanford U; Walter Spahr, sec'y, Economists National Comm on Monetary Policy; Clarence W Fackler, ass't prof Economics, NYU.

"Articles of the following writers appeared only in the first few weeks: Neil Carothers, director, College of Business Admin, Lehigh U; James S Thomas, president, Clarkson College of Technology; T N Carver, prof emeritus, Harvard.

"Contributions from the following writers were later added to the service: Harley L Lutz, prof of public finance, Princeton; Erik McK Ericksson, assoc prof of history, U of S California; J E LeRossignol, dean, college of business administration, U of Nebraska.

(Source: La Follette Comm on Education and Labor, 76th Congress, Senate report No. 6, part 6, pp 159, 162-3.)

Whereas the National Electric Light Ass'n spent about \$25,000,000 each year (sometimes as high as \$29,000,000) to turn public opinion against municipal and public ownership of light and power plants, the NAM lobby got free ads because it was able to blackmail the newspapers, radio, movies and billboard

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corporations with threats that its membership would withdraw commercial advertising already placed.

In the LaFollette investigation a letter was introduced in which Pres Warner of NAM stated that "last year's outdoor advertising . . . would have cost a million and a quarter to buy outright; last year's newspaper campaign, 2,000 pages, would have cost above a million dollars to buy; our radio program, 270 stations, would cost another million dollars." (page 170).

## Labor Smeared as "Red"

The LaFollette report tells in detail how labor was smeared, how everything for the general benefit of the American people was labeled "radical," "red," "unsound" and how men and organizations opposed to the corrupt Big Business program of the NAM were smeared as "propagandists," "impatient reformers" and "disturbers." The NAM did not hesitate, says the report, to present an "uncritical and false picture." The aim of the NAM was the same as that of the old NELA: to pervert the public mind so that it accepted the big corporation program although that program was and is a program for the benefit of 250 ruling families and the enemy of 52,000,000 wage earners. This is happening today.

Another NAM president who testified is Rob't T Lund of Lambert Pharmaceutical Co, maker of Listerine. Readers should note that the U S Gov't has issued several orders telling Lund and Listerine to stop false advertising. PM printed a full page story on such an order against Listerine once. But of America's 2,000 dailies no more than 2 or 3 which take Listerine ads printed the gov't order. Also, Hearst's Good Housekeeping magazine was accused by the gov't of giving OK seals to certain products including Listerine. Also, the Dies Committee, which has always attacked labor, and especially the CIO at the orders of the big business interests who befriend Dies, employed a certain J B Matthews, who had headed a service analyzing foods, drugs, etc.

Then, according to Washington-Merry-Go-Round, the NAM leader, Lund, who also makes Listerine, and the NAM-hired writer Sokolsky, and the Dies agent Matthews met, and shortly afterwards a list of notable organizations including the League of Women Shoppers and Consumers Union, two non-profit organizations protecting the public from anti-labor employers and fake advertisers, were smeared by the Matthews report as subversive. Matthews, according to the Pearson & Allen report, had withdrawn from his own consumer organization, a rival of Consumers Union, but Mrs Matthews "is one of the four largest stockholders." (Source: Washington-Merry-Go-Round, Dec 25 1939).

(As a result of this exposure Matthews—who as an employer had had a strike on his hands because he was paying girls \$13 a week—now attempts to smear all organizations and liberal writers who have exposed him).

The foregoing is one of the most amazing instances of the tie-up of NAM leaders, Dies and his agents, paid writers, the newspapers (which smeared this fake story all over the front page) the notorious Hearst and advertising.

Continues the LaFollette report (page 166): "As part of the comprehensive public information program the NAM gratuitously furnishes various programs to radio stations. These stations give the ass'n 'free time', which according to Wm B Warner, president of the ass'n in 1937 (and publisher of McCall's and other magazines whose aim is to get more advertising, make more money, regardless of public welfare) would cost a million dollars to buy. The important role that radio plays in the public information program of the ass'n is revealed in the memorandum already quoted on 'Community Public Information Programs' by James P Selva, director of the public relations dept, in which Mr Selva stated that 'Now more than ever before, strikes are being won or lost in the newspapers and over the radio.'" (Since 92% of the press is anti-labor, the statement that the press breaks more strikes than the police, made by the late President Broun of the Newspaper Guild, is substantiated.)

One of the most notorious labor-haters in America is the columnist Sokolsky. The NAM used his electric transcriptions on 246 radio stations, more than one third of the stations in existence.

cago. Engaged by Japanese Consul in Chicago as "free lance" radio commentator and magazine publisher. Author of such articles as "America and Japan in Amity and Trade," and "Japan, Today and Tomorrow."

Compensation: \$50 for obtaining radio interviews with Japanese or pro-Japanese people. In some cases received as much as \$110. Receives \$50 for each article besides compensation from the magazine or newspaper. All checks made payable to "Southeast News," a periodical of which he is publisher.

Franklin H Chino, 335 W Madison Ave, Chicago. Engaged by Japanese Consulate in Chicago at \$20 a month as "public relations counsel."

Kahin and Carmody, Central Bldg, Seattle, Wash. Legal adviser to Japanese Consulate at \$75 per month retainer.

Dwight E Haven, 167C6 Blackstone Ave, Detroit. Engaged as public relations counsel by the Japan Times and Japan Trade Service Bureau. Compensation unspecified.

Wade Warren Thayer, 604-5 Stangenwald Bldg, Honolulu. Adviser in legal and official matters to the Japanese Consulate-General in Honolulu, at retainer of \$40 per month.

## We Name N A M Leaders

ALMOST all American Big Business corporations (with the exception of Ford Motors) are represented in the National Association of Manufacturers, but 127 corporations, represented on the board of directors, control its policies. Among them: DuPont, Monsanto Chemical, General Motors, American Cyanamid, Texas Co., Standard Oil, Sun Oil (Pew), Borg-Warner, American Smelting, Swift, General Mills, National Steel (Weir), Bethlehem Steel, Republic Steel (Girdler) and Remington Rand (inventor of Mohawk Valley strikebreaking formula).

Among the individual leaders: Weir and Girdler, largest users of spies in industry; Lund and other patent medicine men who advertise and keep the press from printing US orders against fake advertising; Fuller of Saturday Evening Post and Warner of McCall's.

The biggest corporations in NAM are also the corporations listed by Monopoly Investigation as controlling American economics and politics, as well as press.

These corporations also financed the Liberty League, Sentinels of the Republic, Johnstown Citizens Committee, Constitutional Educational League, League to Uphold Constitutional Gov't and similar anti-labor, strikebreaking, anti-liberal, native Fascist organizations.

## Minority Rights

"A government is free in proportion to the rights it guarantees to the minority."—Alf Landon.

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